DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 102 467 CG 009 560

AUTHOR Shimkin, Demitri B.; Shimkin, Edith M.
TITLE The Extended Family in U.S. Black Societies: Findings and Problems.
SPONS AGENCY Illinois Univ., Urbana.; National Institutes of Health (DHEW), Bethesda, Md.
PUB DATE [74]
NOTE 27p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$1.95 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS *Comparative Analysis; *Family Relationship; *Family Structure; Legal Problems; *Negro Culture; Social Discrimination; *Sociocultural Patterns; State of the Art Reviews
IDENTIFIERS *Extended Family

ABSTRACT

Investigations of the structure, rule systems, and histories of black families in rural Mississippi, Chicago, New Orleans, East Texas, and Southern California have shown the presence of well-integrated, multigeneration, multihousehold, bilateral extended families in varying U.S. social environments. These families, while varying in detail, share structural features: an elderly moral leader, associated household heads, a shifting body of young members, and a geographical focus, often including a burial ground. Behaviorally, other features include: reciprocal economic aid, child fosterage, and care for the sick; exogamy, attendance at funerals, and often, special reputations. Adaptively, these families have aided survival in deep rural poverty, in disorganized ghettos, and in the search for upward mobility; at times, they form multicommunity networks. Based on descent and cooperation rather than marriage and household property maximization, black extended families differ sharply from white analogues, but have many Caribbean and African correspondences. Black family norms need legal recognition and support, e.g., in rules of adoption, to reduce injurious discrimination against black people in U.S. family law and social practice. (Author)

ED102467

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Extended Family in U.S. Black Societies: Findings and Problems

by

Demitri B. Shimkin

and

Edith M. Shimkin

University of Illinois

at

Urbana-Champaign

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

CG 009 560

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Extended Family in U.S. Black Societies:

Findings and Problems

Our purpose in this sketch is to indicate the history, findings, and probable implications of studies on extended families among Black peoples in the United States, the Caribbean and West Africa by us and our colleagues since 1968.[1/] In this review, we shall limit ourselves to data and issues directly concerned with Black societies in the United States.

1. History of the Study

The studies with which we are concerned emerged out of specific contexts, which have greatly influenced both the research advances and the limitations characterizing our work. Our own studies developed out of two converging situations: our support of the work of our son, Alexander Shimkin, in voter registration, voter education, and rural community development throughout Mississippi; and the design requirements for valid investigation of the ecology of migrant people on the Mississippi-Illinois stream as a component of the International Biological Program. This convergence resulted in the formation of the Holmes County Health Research Program, which embodied, to the dismay of the scientifically and administratively orthodox, a partnership in which the agency of an impoverished Black population, the Milton Olive III Memorial Corporation, received a major H.E.W. grant for basic research and the development of services.[2/] The University of Illinois was assigned scientific

responsibility, which was to be exercized through technical assistance, explicitly without the power of the purse. From the beginning, e.g., the Pheasant Run Conference of March 17-19, 1967,[3] Black Holmes Countians were active participants in research and operational planning. To give only one illustration, the socio-psychological significance of the Delta-Hills partition of Holmes County, a key aspect of all our subsequent epidemiological research, was formulated in a brilliant paper by a Black Holmes Countian, Rev. Phillip Rushing--now Assistant to the Director, Department of Public Welfare, State of Illinois.[4]

In general, the theoretical framework of the Holmes County Health Research Program has ~~then~~ thus been the development of a bio-social characterization, both as a conceptual model and a base for potential interventions. This tool is:

"... a quantitative ecological description of a group's size and composition, biological and socio-psychological characteristics, habitat, and major behavior patterns so designed as to identify and measure the group's constituent biological populations, and the levels of fitness, adaptive mechanisms, and selective pressures on each population."[5]

Of course, our concept has been deeply concerned not merely with reactions to stress, but especially with adaptive mechanisms. These we viewed as:

"... the behavioral, physiological and ultimately morphological responses stimulated by the pursuit of goals or attempts to manage stresses, and identified by the observation and analysis of (1) manifestations of basic drives (hunger, curiosity, aggression, sexual satisfaction, play, etc.); (2) stressful events (illness, pregnancy, birth, death, conflicts, etc.); and (3) the diagnosis of adaptive break downs (physical and mental illnesses). It must be stressed that behavioral adaptation operates essentially at the level of intimate socio-cultural communities, i.e., families and friendship and work groups; it can rarely be understood in terms of individual analysis alone."[6/]

Despite these explicit theoretical grounds, it was experience rather than theory that directed increasing attention to family structure and behavior during the course of our work. A few incidents are characteristic: the decision to engage in the Holmes County Health Research Program involved a remarkable affirmation by the assembled heads of the great extended families, each solemnly committing his (or her) kin to this new venture. It was, even in that period of intense hardship, when hunger was widespread and the Ku Klux Klan warded off only by vigilant readiness to fight, the expressed wish of these elders that the Health Research Program benefit not only Black people but also "the other race." In 1969, when the question of health-services priorities came to the fore in workshops and individual meetings, the special status of the

elderly[7] was again underscored. Shimkin and Patterson ascertained how ready families were to commit their resources to the needs of aged relatives, often to the point of losing farms and homes. They concluded that: "...the emotional and economic disasters associated with major and terminal illnesses of the elderly in, say, Holmes County, Mississippi, must be attended to as an urgent problem of social stabilization, even if few gains in longevity can actually be achieved in this way."[8]

This high status was, we discovered, integrally related to the cohesiveness of extended, multi-household families of 50 to 200 persons each, which tied together kin of varying wealth and standing. This cohesiveness was especially brought out in the instance of a threatened blood feud, which was averted by the mandatory intercession of family leaders upon the formal petition of a humble family member enmeshed in a bitter quarrel with outsiders. It has also become evident, as have many other facets of behavior and attitude, since our incorporation in February, 1971, as one family's fictive kin--"namesake relations" with a new born boy.

These circumstances, as well as simultaneous demographic and epidemiological studies, laid the basis of investigations of the extended family among Black Holmes Countians. As our report shows, our inquiries in some areas, such as customary family law, were extensive. In others, they were perforce limited: our respect status led to inhibitions in areas felt by local people to be

somewhat disreputable, especially, sexual liaisons. At the same time, apart from our direct observations, conversations with informants, and the formal inquiries of the Health Research Program staff[9], extremely important data were developed by Holmes County students whom we were able to place in the University of Illinois--especially Miss Gloria Jean Louie, Miss Lillie McGee, and Mr. Robert Stewart. These ~~later~~ data generated an excellent description of the "Bidwell" family, a network connecting Holmes County with Chicago, Detroit, and Jackson, Mississippi, as well as basic characteristics of a set of 105 former Holmes County households in Chicago.[10] Another dimension was developed, as a by-product of research on geophagy, in the primarily economic study of the very poor, localized "Mitchell" extended family, by Dennis A. Frate.[11] Finally, our results, prepared for the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Chicago, were reviewed in detail by a Holmes County panel[12].

Our session at the Congress elicited scholarly comments and associated papers, with still others recruited during this past year. For the United States alone, our joint volume contains the Holmes County reports; primarily interpretative papers by B. Adams, J. Aschenbrenner, V. Green, and L. Borman, and sizeable substantive reports by R. Holloman and F. Lewis; L. Jack, Jr.; K. Aoyagi; M. Jourdan Atkinson, and D. B. Shimkin. As an aggregate, our new materials cover a number of states, especially Mississippi, Illinois,

Louisiana, Texas, and California. They deal with rural, small town, and metropolitan settings; and with an economic range from deep poverty--as in the instances of the rural "Mitchells" and inner-city "Clan"--to middle-class margins (the "Bidwells", and several of the "Five Families). Included are both highly localized families (the "Mitchells", the "Wesleys", and the "Clan") and widely dispersed ones (the "Bidwells", and the "Five Families")[13].

In sum, while our entire effort is in no sense definitive; it does represent a systematic, broadly distributed, and heavily documented inquiry into a major institution of Black society. Moreover, many of our accounts are by members of the societies studied. This perspective generates empathy but may yield blind spots and, certainly, sensitivities. For example, none of us accepts the "pathological" model born of Myrdal and fostered by Moynihan.[14] All of us reject as pejorative the term "matings" so casually applied to Black human sexuality in the West Indian literature.[15]

2. The Flavor of Our Work

Throughout the entire investigation, our primary emphasis has been upon ethnographic fidelity, as understood by each contributor and community. For this reason, the essence of what has been done can best be communicated by excerpts from basic observations.

For example, the Holmes County community review of the Shimkin, Louie, and Frate manuscript brought out contrasting personal experiences, in very large and quite small extended families.

The first was reported by Mrs. Nadeen Randle Jones as follows:

Mrs. Jones: I [want] to speak about growing up in Holmes County as it relates to extended families.

"I am the second of four children. My father was a small, independent farmer who was a descendant of one of the largest families in Holmes County...My mother migrated into Holmes County because she had to leave her base home to finish high school.

"We live in one of the largest communities in Holmes County. Most of the residents in this community are Randles or descendants of Randles. Branched from this community is another we call 'Randletown.' That is a cluster of about 25 or 30 families living in an area, and they are all Randles, or cousins of Randles, or children of Randles, of sisters or brothers of Randles. In this cluster, just like the community that I live in, we share everything. We live within calling distance--I don't mean by telephone--I mean yelling from one person's house to the other. We share things like vegetables that we grow in our gardens; we milk cows, and we share buttermilk; and we share clothing. When my clothes get too small there is always a little cousin in the community that I would give my clothes to.

"And this type of family relationship has a great influence on me and the kind of life that I lead now. When I was four years old, I enrolled in school, and I graduated from high school when I was sixteen. This was because this local school in the local community had no particular age limit then, and peoples had to go to fields then. So when they get the children trained they start them to school.

"Holmes County now is a lot different from what it was when my parents were children. It is different in that I have self-respect and dignity, and a Black person in Holmes County, regardless of how large the family was, didn't have that then. I walk down the street with my head up--so does everybody else.

"So that is how it is being from a large, Black extended family, as I see it."16/

Mrs. J. Matilda Burns' life has been rather different; it illustrates both the relative weakness and the capacity for upward mobility of small groups.

Mrs. Burns: I became interested in the Black extended family mainly because the more I heard about the family the less I knew about my own. If I participate in the program today I felt I would be able to learn about other families plus finding my identity with my own.

"I was born in Leflore County in Mississippi. My father is the son of a small independent farmer in Madison County [due south of Holmes County, halfway to Jackson]. The Griffin family was a very small family. He had only three sisters. After serving a set time in World War I, he returned to Greenwood, Mississippi, to use his savings from [military] service to buy a small home. He continued to work in the Leflore County area. Aftee which he sold the small home there, and purchased a home plus land in Humphreys County, Mississippi.

"My mother was the daughter of a sugar cane grower in Louisiana. After finishing high school, she began to teach. She taught in the Leflore County and Humphreys County for several years. She continued to work until ill health and death. She died after giving birth to five childrens; she died in 1952.

"Both parents were practical people: strong belief, strong values in education. They taught us to take care of what we have, place strong values in education. There was something good in education. They tried to do their best to provide a college education for all.

"After the death of my mother, my maternal uncles and aunts began to visit and write to help with the other children. At this particular time, they were living in various parts of the country. At that time, we had two uncles overseas. They wanted us to spend more time with them, but my father decided that the family of five children would stay together. He did not permit us to visit outside of the state.

"My paternal uncles and aunts were not as close as my maternal uncles and aunts.

"My education is not a typical Mississippi Delta Black education. The reason for these differences are that my father happened to own his own land; he was a small cattle owner; he h[illegible] to work for himself. My mother taught school. That was some income besides what was done on the farm. The resources were meager, but they were far better than the sharecroppers' families. Indeed, children of these families had very little opportunity for education. And these are some of the reasons: number one, the school building--it was a typical one-room school; one teacher for grades 1 through 8; children had to walk a long distance to school; buses were not provided until 1951. Number two, incentive: the landlord did not permit children

to go to school until the crops were harvested; you did not stop in the spring, or you had to stop school to start the crops. The school year was only eight months. This was the typical Delta-type education because of the farm season. The result of that was more children wanted to go [away] to school to get a better education. Home education was provided by the parents, and even with meager resources, it was [somewhat] successful."17/

Mr. Lenus Jack, Jr. has depicted an extremely cohesive New Orleans family of long urban tradition. In this study, he portrays the "Wesleys'" behaviors and attitudes in a variety of situations.

"Just as important as the day-to-day contacts is the functional relationship of kinship groups that occurs in emergencies. The flood from Hurricane Betsy in 1965 caused much damage to the homes of many of the relatives who lived in the area. Some of the Wesleys who were affected by the floods moved in with 'Mama's' sister immediately after evacuation from the school. Others stayed with a non-Wesley household in the same block as 'The Yard' that had upstairs accomodations, or else in other Wesley households. From these relatives, they received food, clothing and, of course, shelter. When the water receded, these relatives

aided in cleaning up and repairing damage to the houses. Those relatives who were the first to return aided the late returners in straightening up their homes. All who were affected by the flood acted as information retrievers for sources of assistance for the flood victims. Those who were the first to get assistance from the government served as orientation counselors, so that many of the bureaucratic procedures were eliminated for their kinsmen. Furthermore, the information retrieval system was used to determine where family members could most advantageously use their money to replace their destroyed household property. Those relatives who lived in another city brought food, clothing and financial aid upon learning the whereabouts of their kin. They were not a significant part of the information retrieval system because of their unfamiliarity with New Orleans and its structure and did not learn of their kinfolk's return home in time to aid in the task of cleaning up. But they did use their skills in helping to repair cars. Furthermore, they gave even more money to the victims than did relatives who lived in the city. In this emergency, overall, the role of paternal kin was thus exceptionally great. Their remoter physical distance had, in a sense, given them the capacity to respond to a grave crisis."[18/]

These patterns may be compared to those extant in another inner-city family, "The Clan," which has been studied by Dr. Regina Holloman and Ms. Fannie Lewis:

> "The attitudinal system of "The Clan" in relationship to the systems of customary family law in traditional Black society is well expressed in the domain of funerals, wakes, and burials. In the rural South, and among urban migrants maintaining active ties with the South, funerals are the key occasion for demonstrating extended-family solidarity and respect for elders. Often, the body of a family member will be returned from the North for burial in the family cemetery or plot, which is itself a visual symbol of solidarity....
>
> "'Clan' funerals, by contrast, are deemed no more important than other family events. The largest funeral Hannah has attended was that of her maternal grandmother (Amanda) in 1964. The grandmother had been living with Hannah at the time. There were no out-of-town participants, although Amanda had lived most of her life in Arkansas. Dottie did not attend the ceremony; as explained earlier, she had rejoined the family as an adult, and said that 'she did not know her grandmother well enough.' The family disapproved Dottie's absence, but did not treat this failure as a serious breach of

conduct. Bird attended the wake, which like other 'Clan' wakes, was held outside the home, but not the funeral, stating that 'he didn't want to remember her like that.'

"The only other event customarily connected with 'Clan' deaths is a gathering in the home 'to sort out the clothes,' which are often the only legacy of these impoverished people.

"Despite their poverty, family members are much concerned with 'proper' burial. 'Who buried her or him' is an important question, eliciting information about payment for the funeral and a critical dyadic relationship thus exposed. Public-aid burial is a disgrace. Consequently, family members will pool funds to bury a kinsman who dies without burial insurance, which is often carried by the individual himself. In that case, the identity of the beneficiary is often of intense family interest. Arlene carries her own policy, with Flute as the beneficiary. She also has paid-up policies for the burial expenses of South, Flute, and Fox. According to Hannah, Arlene could not afford to do this for her older children, when they were little. In general, while death is less structured as an integrating force in 'The Clan' than in many other extended Black family, it remains of substantial importance."[19/]

3. Tentative Findings

In this study, it has not been feasible to have all authors meet to formulate common findings. As noted earlier, several have written primarily interpretative papers. In general, we have explored theoretical issues and applications cautiously, to avoid premature stereotypes in a vast and complex domain. With these reservations, the Shimkins see the thrust of findings to be as follows:

A. A widespread and functionally important institution of Black society in the United States is a bilateral descent group, with more loosely related spouses and with extensions to various kinds of fictive relatives, which is called "family."

B. Characteristically, this "family" is centered, perceptually and in terms of action initiatives, on its representatives of the oldest living generation, who are symbols of unity, objects of respect and moral authority, sources of fosterage and objects of care for all members,

C. The second generation, children of the leaders, siblings and cousins to each other, and the heads of constituent subfamilies are the extended family's basic decision-makers and actors. Because such bodies interact intensively, and work in concert, they usually bear a distinctive name and reputation, and share private codes, especially nicknames.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

D. Marital ties, both formal and consensual, both monogamous or (as in the case of the "Clan") quasi-polygynous, are secondary to those of descent. Each spouse, even in loyal, life-long relationships, retains primarily allegiance to "father and mother, brother and sister." Marital ties involve varying intensities of explicit sexuality; they gain stability through economic cooperation, with men's and women's roles segregated into external and household loci, and through the common responsibility of all the family's adults for children and the aged. Marital outlooks are most favorable when brothers marry sisters, and, in general, when ties between brothers-in-law are close.

E. Within the extended family, each constituent household includes one or more sociological adults, women and men usually called "Mamma" and "Daddy" regardless of actual relationship; and sociological dependents, who may often include unmarried mothers or even subordinate, legal families. For the sociological dependents, for other wandering relatives, and for a variety of fictive kin, household boundaries are permeable. The fosterage of children and the co-residence of other kin in a household are widespread both as responses to crises, and as deliberate measures. For example, children are often fostered by relatives living near good schools.

F. Particularly frequent and psychologically important is a fosterage relation between grandparents and grandchildren, which

many Black people regard as optimal psychologically and in terms of discipline. This relationship usually culminates in the fond and lasting care of aged, dying grandparents by adult grandchildren.

G. As mentioned earlier, Black extended families frequently incorporate non-relatives, who have grown up together, or who have gained special intimacy, e.g., in the civil-rights context of the 1960's. Such persons, often called "play kin," have privileges of co-residence and expectations of reciprocity only slightly less than true kin. Like the latter, they are beyond the bounds of acceptable sexual relations; in fact, designation as "play kin," and the use of kinships terms sometimes resolves hitherto ambiguous situations. Godparenthood, a basic source of fictive kinship in Catholic areas such as the West Indies, is found sporadically.

H. Behaviorally, Black extended families stress high intensities of face-to-face interaction; "closeness," residentially and psychologically, and "sharing" are highly valued. At the same time, extended families cope with a spectrum of individual behaviors which are classified from "strong" to "weak." "Strong" ways involve responsibility for others, continuing (although not necessarily monogamous) sexual relationships, and striving for economic betterment. They are reinforced by participation in rituals, such as family gatherings, church services, and, especially, funerals. They are signalled by tokens of respect, particularly, deference in service at meals.

I. Black extended families often face major hazards from poverty, unemployment, illness and death; much of the so-called matrifocality observed in Black society reflects simply the absence of men hunting for work, or their premature death. Marital conflicts and dissolutions seem to have "family-specific" frequencies, either very common or very rare. In either case, few differences have appeared in the stability of formal versus consensual relationships. In many cases, older males (especially mother's brothers) appear to act as work leaders and male role models for mother-child households.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

J. Very poor, extended families are subject to considerable attrition ~~attention~~ because contacts are lost upon out-migration, even to different parts of a major ghetto. Among them, effective membership is de facto limited to those active in the core group's social or economic pursuits. Among better-off and better educated families, systematic communications by long-distance telephone, letters and visits maintain not only unity but adaptive capacity to exploit job, educational or other opportunities. Here, property disputes and differential socio-economic mobility tend to be the disruptive forces.

K. In general, Black extended families appear to function effectively in a wide range of situations, on the basis of symbolic reinforcements, and group information-gathering, decision-making, and action. They permit survival under great adversity in rural

and urban settings; they aid mobility for the more successful.

L. The structural basis, the customary laws of behavior, and the guiding ethics of Black extended families in the United States differ profoundly from White counterparts.[20/] It is "father and mother, brother and sister" versus husband-and-wife; it is permeable households with co-residence and fosterage versus isolated households, visits and legal adoption at most; it is extensive exogamy versus "kissing cousins"; it is "sharing" versus "property." In sum, the Black extended family represents a distinct, well-developed, persisting and effective cultural tradition. It is not a grab-bag of improvisations, whatever its origins and history may be.

4. Possible Implications for Policy and Research

The Shimkins feel, albeit as personal views, that the following implications of the aggregate study appear to be valid leads for policy:

A. The self-study of extended families by their members, like the objective determination of the Black cultural tradition generally, can be an important mechanism of sharpening social awareness and feelings of competence, particularly among those Black persons whose self-identity has been shaken by heavy pressure from White society.

B. The dissemination of reliable information on the Black extended family and other facets of Black culture within academic

circles and, more generally, for use by White Americans may in time yield more tolerance and mutual respect between races. But the data disseminated need to be full and carefully reported, obscuring neither the strengths nor the weaknesses which Black institutions manifest.

C. Public and private authorities should be aware of, and incorporate, extended families as important components of social action (e.g., in regard to housing, education, health, and welfare) in most Black communities. Such policies can be implemented as constructive options without limiting the rights of deliberately independent Black households.

D. As a basic measure to limit the intensity of poverty, and to permit options for many involuntary migrants to inner cities, a revival of land grants on easy terms for Black and other poor people needs to be implemented. The important successes of such policies in family stabilization and upward mobility are exemplified by the history of the "Bidwell" family in Holmes County, Mississippi.[21/]

E. Legislation needs to be developed, at State and Federal levels to reduce the grave inequalities imposed upon Black family practices under current laws. As Representative Robert Clark, Jr., of Mississippi, has suggested[22/] legal reforms are especially needed in regard to taxation, fosterage and adoption, family care of the aged, and housing.

Notes

1/ See The Extended Family in Black Societies, 1975 (in press). Edited by Demitri B. Shimkin, Edith M. Shimkin and Dennis A. Frate. The Hague: Mouton Publishers. The authors of this paper also wish to acknowledge the support of the National Institute of Health, Washington, D.C. in research on Holmes County, Mississippi (Grant No. HS00422-03 to Milton Olive III Memorial Corp., Bernice Montgomery, Principal Investigator, "The Ecology of Migrant People, Mississippi"), and the Research Board, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (Grant No. 40-32-07-375).

2/ See Lorenzi, Henry and Susan. 1969. On Research and Development Operations in Holmes County, Mississippi, 1968-1969. Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois (Sept. 1969, mimeo).

3/ Held as a component of the International Biological Program; see also Ostfeld, Adrian M. and Demitri B. Shimkin. 1967. Planning Conference on "The Ecology of Migrant Populations" of the Sectional Committee on the International Biological Program (March 17-19, 1967, at Chicago, Illinois). Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences (Mimeo).

4/ See Rushing, Rev. P. V. "The Black Rural Migrant: Three Groups of Agricultural Workers from Holmes County, Mississippi, No. 5, The Rural Environment, pp. 1-8, in Susan S. H. Lorenzi (Ed.), 1968-69. Some Views on Blacks and Black Communities: A Collection

of Diverse Papers. Urbana: University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana (mimeo).

5/ See p. 8, Program Statement, Pheasant Run Conference, International Biological Program, March 17-19, 1967, Chicago, Illinois.

6/ See p. 9, Op. cit., note 5.

7/ See Jackson, Jacquelyne Johnson. 1971. The Blacklands of Gerontology. Aging and Human Development 2:156-171.

8/ See Shimkin, Demitri B. and Joseph Patterson (Dr. P. H.). 1969. "Recommendations for the Improvement of Health Status Among the Disadvantaged." Urbana, Ill. and Seattle, Wash. Study Proposal for submission to the National Center for Health Services Research and Development, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. (July; mimeo).

9/ See papers presented to the American Public Health Association, 102nd Annual Meeting, New Orleans, La. on Oct. 24, 1974 as follows:

1. Bernice Montgomery. "Working for Human Needs in Holmes County: A 'Grassroots' View."

2. Eddie W. Logan and Erma Jean Polk. "Recruiting, Hiring and Training of the Local Staff: A Combined Effort."

3. William Peltz and Dennis Frate. "Baseline Data Collection, A Progression of Health Studies and Significant Spin-offs Towards a Continuity of Research."

4. James Anderson. "Integration of Health Research and Services: What the Future Holds."

10/ See Shimkin, D. B. and Ann Rice. 1971. The Black Population of Holmes County, Mississippi. A Statistical Characterization As of January 1970. Lexington, Miss.: Milton Olive III Memorial Corporation (mimeo, Jan.).

11/ See Frate, Dennis A. 1972. The Ecology of Geophagy in the Black Community, Holmes County, Mississippi. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University (Master's thesis; mimeo; obtainable upon request from D. A. Frate, Dept. of Anthropology, U. of Illinois, Urbana).

12/ See Frate, Dennis A. and Eddie W. Logan (Eds.). "Community Reactions and Appraisals: The Extended Family as a Social Core," in The Extended Family in Black Societies, as cited in footnote 1.

13/ For the families mentioned, see the following chapters in The Extended Family in Black Societies (footnote 1): for the "Mitchells", Section V in "The Black Extended Family: A Basic Rural Institution and a Mechanism of Urban Adaptation" (Shimkin, Louie and Frate);* for the "Clan", "The 'Clan': Case Study of a Black Extended Family in Chicago" (Holloman and Lewis); for the "Bidwells", Section IV in "The Black Extended Family: A Basic Rural Institution and a Mechanism of Urban Adaptation"; for the

"Five Families," see "Kinship and Friendship in Black Los Angeles: A Study of Migrants from Texas" (Aoyagi); for the "Wesleys," see "Kinship and Residential Propinquity in Black New Orleans: The 'Wesleys'" (Jack). * Shimkin, Demitri B., Gloria J. Louie and Dennis Frate. 1973. The Black Extended Family: A Basic Rural Institution and a Mechanism of Urban Adaptation, paper originally prepared for the IXth International Contress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Inc. (Chicago, Ill. Aug.-Sept.(1973). Copies obtainable from Prof. D. B. Shimkin, Dept. of Anthropology, U. of Illinois Urbana, IL. 61801.

14/ See Myrdal, Gunnar. 1944. The American Dilemma. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers; Moynihan, Daniel P. 1965. The Negro Family. The Case for National Action. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

15/ See Smith, M. G. 1962. West Indian Family Structure. Seattle: University of Washington Press (American Ethnological Society Publications).

16/ See "Community Reactions and Appraisals: The Extended Family as a Social Core," (Frate and Logan, Eds.), in The Extended Family in Black Societies, as cited in footnote 1.

17/ Ibid.

18/ "Kinship and Residential Propinquity: The 'Wesleys'" in The Extended Family in Black Societies as cited in footnote 1.

19/ "The 'Clan': Case Study of a Black Extended Family in Chicago" in The Extended Family in Black Societies as cited in footnote 1.

20/ "Black Families in the United States: An Overview of Current Ideologies and Research" by Bert Adams in The Extended Family in Black Societies, as cited in footnote 1.

21/ See Section IV. "The Black Extended Family: A Basic Rural Institution and a Mechanism of Urban Adaptation" (Shimkin, Louie and Frate) in The Extended Family in Black Societies, as cited in footnote 1; also Griggs, Anthony. 1974. How Blacks Lost 9 Million Acres of Land. Ebony 29:96-104 (No. 12, Oct.).

22/ See "Community Reactions and Appraisals: The Extended Family as a Social Core" (Frate and Logan, Eds.) in The Extended Family in Black Societies as cited in footnote 1; also Borman, Leonard, "Black Institutions and Potential Social Change in the United States," in The Extended Family in Black Societies.